/32 cont'd/

583 The two parties both make excuses to the other: one for its poverty and the hard times, "I could not offer more, but what is offered is given wholeheartedly"; the other for its indigence, "I was forced to ask for much too much, but now I am more than satisfied with the gifts...."

584 Then when all have taken their places again, the go-between rises and proposes to the family that they present the "flower," that is, the little bride.

They hasten to spread out a red rug or piece of red felt in the middle of the room, and the little bride, chaperoned by a young girl, appears before the assemblage. The two girls hold each other by the hand.

[302] The bride has risen early in the morning, has washed with all kinds of soap, and her hair has been dressed by the most skillful woman in the neighborhood. She has put on her handsomest finery, she has beautiful flowers in her hair, and she is made up in such a way as to be longer recognizable. Her companion, a little girl like herself, has a more modest toilette; she has no flowers in her hair, she wears a black veil on her head. They are certainly "the amazon and the little white goose"; no chance of making a mistake who is the bride.

[516 576] They advance toward the middle of the rug, facing the future father-in-law, let go their hands, bow respectfully, kneel, bow their foreheads to the ground three times, rise, and begin the same prostration over again three times. This is the ancient Chinese greeting on grand occasions. Everything is done gravely and sedately. They are well-trained T'ou-jen girls! Also their childhood games are [524] only the apprenticeship /33/ for the ceremonial. All girls play at ceremonies; they adore them. This is characteristic of the Orient.

583 584 One sees that the "flower" is aware of her own important and that of the moment; she tries to make a good impression on the assemblage, and the future father-in-law smiles, becomes young again, throws on the rug with a generous gesture two or three handfuls of red lozenges and a handful of cash, emblems of good fortune and wealth. The guests do the same. The girls pick up everything,

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2: Schram--198 M-4,5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

An Ing-iang Sien-cheng Chinese, in fine array, in front of the door of his house. At the left his pupil-apprentice, in the background his old servant.

2: Schram--203 M-4, 5 (1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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Left, a T'ou-jen lama wearing the dress of the yellow lamas.
Center, his superior, T'ou-jen lama in Chinese dress.
Right, a lay T'ou-jen, their servant.

2: Schram--206 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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A T'ou-jen with his son; they wear Chinese clothes (country of Nien-pei, Sining).

2: Schram--207 M-4, 5(1915-1920) 1932 AE9 Monguor AE9

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Rich T'ou-jen widow, no longer speaking her language, wearing no longer the costume of her race. Type of completely Sinicized T'ou-jen, even having the little Chinese feet. However, at her death she will be dressed in the T'ou-jen style for her last toilette!

[28 cont.]
rings at the end; the spirit-spear; the winnowing tray and the sieve (2).--He must make this equipment himself in accordance

2. [Foreign text p. 32.] In the case of one other temple shaman I also saw the bow and arrow as equipment. Incidentally, the shaman carries all the customary weapons. -- The spirit-sling is twisted out of hemp, wrapped in red cloth, and is about one meter long. The iron rings on it have a symbolic significance that I have forgotten. The Chinese, so far as I can recall, call the sling k'un-hsien-sheng, that is, spirit-binding string. In the accompanying photograph the shaman holds the sling with the ring in his left thumb.

with certain rules. He keeps it at home on the altar of his tutelary deity with the sword and the god's image.

The trance: The trance usually takes place in the house in front of the altar. The shaman rinses out his mouth, washes his hands and face, presents an incense offering in the yard or before the altar, kowtows before the sword, and puts on his garb (3). The incense fire is maintained in the yard by other

3. [Foreign text p. 32.] He always puts on his costume with prayer.

men who also blow the conch (5).

5. [Foreign text p. 32.] Some claim that the shaman has to wash himself once more before the trance.

Now a long, low table is placed in front of the altar, and the shaman sits on it in the Buddha position with his legs

[28 cont.]
752 crossed under him, his face turned toward the door, and his
787 back to the altar. He has placed his sword across his knees.
● [516] He holds a burning stick of incense upright in his hands in front of his chest, so that the smoke rises into his face. Then he speaks the prayer of invitation to his tutelary spirit. Meanwhile men make smoke around him with incense. Gradually his hands begin to tremble; the movement passes to the arms, chest, and head. Finally his entire body is trembling and shaking, but especially the head with a violence that makes the bells rattle. At this point the stick of incense is taken out of his hand and he is given his sword (6). The spirit has now

6. [Foreign text p. 32.] The little stick is placed in the incense bowl.

[789] descended upon him. He begins to prophesy and to exorcise the demons.

The shaman may also choose another place for the trance, for instance, the temple, the house chapel, a mountain top,
* [777] an obo [a mound of stones dedicated to the mountain spirit], the yard. He never undertakes the trance on the kang in a side room. If there is a god's image with a soul on the household altar, he always sits down facing this image; in the case of the obo he must turn toward the obo. -- In front of the obo or on the mountain top he need not sit on a table, but can kneel on the bare ground. If he undertakes the trance in the yard of a compound, he goes to the side opposite the main house so that he has the round manger with the mani-tree before him and faces the main house. There he kneels upright on a white felt mat. The other ceremonies are the same.

The compound in which he undertakes the trance must first be swept clean; all the rooms are fumigated with incense. The [29] table or the mat on which he kneels must also be
[609] fumigated. -- There is no taboo for strangers, however; all
[562] may witness the ceremony. Women, however, may not enter the room in which the trance takes place.

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

cording to the rules, occupy the time in meditation or prayer. 792 157

A good lama should daily, once in the morning and once in the afternoon, walk around the monastery saying his beads and prostrating himself at the small shrines along the ritual way. In the fourth moon he makes the same round, prostrating himself the whole way along. This is said to be really exhausting work.

Every year a good lama enters a retreat at home for two weeks. He does not leave his room, talks with no one, and cancels all appointments with visitors. He prays and reads texts the whole day and offers the ritual tea four times daily before the image. A good lama never sits on a bench or chair, but always squats [516] cross-legged on the floor or the k'ang, barefooted, his clothes adjusted decently. He eats only mutton, beef, or pork, never the meat of the horse, donkey, hare, or [262] chicken, or fish or eggs. Lamas are not allowed to raise sheep, goats, pigs, chickens, or donkeys. A model lama lives in retirement, avoiding mixing with the groups of lamas who play chess and cards all night, or indulge in endless gossip, or tell smutty jokes and indecent stories, for the saying goes that "nothing is dirtier than the tongue of a lama." A good lama deals with books with reverence, putting them, wrapped in a yellow silk scarf, before the Buddha statues, carrying them on his back when traveling. A good lama does not even go to say prayers at private homes, when invited by the people; he does not leave the monastery.

These notes, given by older lamas and young Wendees, reveal what lamas think about an ideal lama and what sort of ideal is held up before young lamas. However, in order to be able to become an "ideal lama" some wealth is required, or at least an honorable competency, and it is precisely the lack of this primary condition which provides the clue to most of the miseries of individual lamas and the ruin of many monasteries.

HOW LAMAS PROVIDE FOR THEIR SUBSISTENCE

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Lamas have to earn a living, because support furnished by the monastery is insufficient. Poor lamas try to find a full-time job in the several intendancies of the monastery or with the minor Living Buddhas, or by accompanying expeditions to collect alms, or by working in the printing offices. Many find a part-time [466] job carrying water every day for several rich lamas, driving animals to the pasture grounds and then back home again, selling cow dung and fuel. Lamas like to be hired, by a lama whose pupil has abandoned him, to search for and bring back the strayed pupil. Lamas try to buy a young, nicely built horse or mule, and are happy to hire young lamas who will work every day at breaking it to the saddle, in order that they will be able to sell it in the cities or in Lhasa, where such animals command a good price. Lamas

4: Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1957 AE9 Monguor AE9

thenticity of their possession, the Kurtain has to provide evidence of being possessed, which has to be tested and checked by qualified men, before they can enjoy the benefit of a "diploma" showing their credentials. Not only the Monguors but the lamas ask for a serious test.

If the Kurtain claims to be possessed by a Lamaist deity whose incarnation is living at the lamasery, the test is provided by this Living Buddha himself, who is the best qualified man for the examination. If there is no such incarnation at the lamasery, the Kurtain has to invite the Living Buddha, or a Fa-t'ai, to offer him a gift, and implore him to make the test. In case the Kurtain claims to be possessed by a spirit of Taoism, the chiefs of the village urge him to pass the test before a Living Buddha anyhow, for only the Living Buddhas are supposed to possess the required yardsticks *ad hoc*. Old Kurtains cannot test the authenticity of new Kurtains. In the event the Kurtain declares himself to be possessed by a deity of Lamaism, the community of the village defrays the expenses required for the test. If he declares himself to be possessed by a spirit of Taoism he has to defray the expenses himself.

The test of a Kurtain possessed by a Taoist spirit is carried out as follows: the Living Buddha, who sits on his throne under the porch of the main temple with all the lamas, while the temple yard is packed to capacity with a curious and interested crowd, orders the Kurtain to sit beneath the steps.

The Kurtain wears the usual gown worn by the Monguors (seldom a red one) bound round the waist with a sash of red cloth. On a piece of red cloth, covering his head, is fixed a small copper mirror, shining on his forehead; a large red ribbon encircles his head, on which are sewn a lot of small bells. If he happens to be possessed by the spirit Wu tao shen, the spirit of the five roads, he wears a crown of that spirit. Over a large "cloud collar,"[1] which comes down over his shoulders, passes a red rope to which is attached a bigger copper mirror adorned by red, yellow, green, and blue ribbons or *khata*, dangling on his chest. On his back are sewn a couple of red and green handkerchiefs.

He sits erect on a low Chinese table, his legs always sprawled apart, imitating the exact posture of the god of the Five Roads, even though he may be possessed by the dragon god. The representation of this Chinese warrior, his theatrical attitude seen everywhere in all the temples, must have impressed the Monguors to a very large extent. On the knees of the Kurtain is

[1] This collar seems to hint at a part of the garments worn by the old Mongol princes "Ils (les princes) ont encore une autre forme (l'habit): un collet nommé 'Jaqa' sur les épaules et sur le dos, et qui finit des deux cotés en pointe aigue; il ressemble à un echiquier. Ce bord pend sur les deux épaules. Il est toujours fait en brocart ou en peau de zibeline." H. Serruys, *Pei-lou fong-sou*. Les coûtumes des esclaves septentrionaux, *Monumenta Serica* 10: 145, 1945. For the "cloud collar" (*Yün-chien*), see S. Cammann, The symbolism of the cloud collar motif, *Art Bull.*, March, 1951.